

SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

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CURRENT COMMENT

BY FREDERIC HEATH.

The Switchmen's Journal prints a glowing eulogy of Debs and Seidel in its current issue.

The Bishop of New York says that clergymen should study Socialism more and condemn it less.

Association for mutual protection is Socialistic; association for mutual plunder, this is, trying to plunder each other, is capitalistic.

The workingman who shuts his ears to Socialism only hurts himself. There is mighty little heroism in such an attitude, mighty little.

No man ever felt the full importance of the great Socialist cause without feeling exalted and ready for greater sacrifices on behalf of mankind.

As long as the capitalist system lasts trade unionism will be absolutely necessary. And with the passing of capitalism it will take on new importance.

Read the record of trade unionism on another page and stick it under the nose of the wild-eyed idiot who declares that the existing unions must be smashed.

The clause in the new Socialist national constitution provides that any person advocating sabotage be put out of the party, has carried by a large majority.

What any Socialist tells you that the Socialists are Communists, tell him that you are not quite a fool nor ready to swallow lies started by enemies of the working class.

Victor-Richard, one of the last remaining heroes of the Paris Commune, that everlasting lie about government of Paris by mere people is dead. He was in his ninetieth year.

The day is not far away when organized labor will look with suspicion on a leader in its ranks who keeps up an affiliation with either one of the political parties of the capitalist class.

The veteran Socialist, J. A. Wayland, "One Hoss," has broken a lifelong rule and will make several public addresses this fall. He is now well in his eighties, but has lost none of his old-time fire.

When you see a labor leader saying that a union man cannot be a Social-Democrat you will find, if you watch, that he turns for approval to the big guns of the capitalist parties, whether it be a big smash like Belmont or a gross bourgeois of the Taft type.

The Social-Democrats of Germany cast nearly four million more votes now than they did in 1881. And every year since that date the capitalist newspapers have printed special cables dispatches telling how the party over there was going to smash because of internal defections.

This issue of The Herald will be found full of stirring agitation matter, such as you will delight to hand to your fellow workmen. See that you make such use of it and thus help to set a light in the brain of men growing in political darkness and resultant economic slavery.

For years the Countess of Warwick has been active in the Socialist ranks in Great Britain, and how Lady Jane Taylor has come out for the capitalist side with a Sunday school crusade against us. If the movement only knew what hard punches she was giving it, it would be all up with Socialism!

Socialism encircles the globe. You can go to no uncivilized country that does not have its Socialist movement.

Berger Has Wonderful Record in Nation's Congress

BY LOUIS KOPELIN.

WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT.

In a few words this is the record of Victor L. Berger, the Socialist member of the house of representatives:

Forced a corrupt federal judge to retire from the bench.

Compelled the Lawrence, Mass., mill owners to surrender to their striking employees.

Secured the admission of four Russian political refugees who had been detained by the immigration authorities.

Introduced 24 measures reflecting the interests of the working class.

Addressed the house 18 times on social, political, and industrial subjects.

The above is only a brief summary of his work in congress. To give in detail an account of his legislative and other activities in Washington would fill a book. From the first day Berger took his seat until the present time the office of the first Socialist congressman was probably the busiest of any in the big marble building which houses the 384 members of the popular branch of congress.

Berger's term began March 4, 1911. His first act, service began on April 4 of the same year. On this date con-

tinued in all places in principle, but naturally has to adjust its agitations to the local conditions. It is a world brotherhood, the first the world has ever seen. It is accomplishing the Brotherhood of Man and working to make it fully possible.

Socialism's aim is to secure to every individual the greatest possible freedom. Only Socialism can guarantee such freedom. The idea that freedom can come from Anarchism is an iridescent dream. Anarchism would make of people warring units, and we get enough of that now under the capitalist system, whose motto is: each man for himself, no matter how many wounded result from the scramble.

Socialism is opposed to peace in industry, bawls the inconscient literature of Mr. Pete Collins of the Militia of Christ ill fame. What rascally stuff to set before working people! It is a lie in every fiber. In Milwaukee where the trade unions are brim full of Socialists, there are fewer strikes than in any other large city in the land. And there is not a place where labor goods are so freely purchased as in Milwaukee. Socialists believe and teach that just as the capitalist system lasts trade unions are absolutely required, and that if there were none the working class would be worse off than the serfs of old.

The denial of one Theodore Roosevelt regarding the Standard Oil contribution to his campaign a few years ago sound rather silly. Roosevelt is both a hypocrite and an unscrupulous. Only a short time ago he was calling Socialists undesirable citizens and filling The Outlook with filthy aspersions on their morals. Then the situation changes and unscrupulous Teddy, seeing that he needs it in his business flops over and incorporates a lot of Socialist material into his platform. Socialists can stand it first rate. If he helps to agitate our ideas we can trust those ideas to advance just so much faster.

What do you think would happen—what fury do you think would be aroused in the press all over the country, if some Socialist mayor—say, Mayor Seidel, while in office—should order out the fire engines and run a line of hose into a half where an old party capitalist speaker was delivering a speech, and should force both speakers and auditors out of the hall with a conquering shout of victory? I can imagine the commotion.

Yet a capitalist mayor did this sort of thing to a Socialist party speaker the other day in the city of Tallapoosa, Ga., and no indignant editorials have appeared about it in any of the leading capitalist newspapers. The mayor is a cotton mill lord and the Socialist speaker was exposing the hideous child-labor conditions that exist in the southern mills.

The Socialist party is made up of the Socialist voters, only a small part of whom are actual members of the party organization that carries on its work and protects its integrity. The ratio of membership to party voters is about 1 to 10, throughout the United States. Some people feel that they are doing their duty by voting a Social-Democratic ballot on all possible occasions and in getting others to do likewise, while others feel it their duty to join the official organization, help it with dues and to contribute service in all possible ways. My advice is to every Socialist to not be content to remain outside the organization. Arranging meetings, carrying literature, attending conventions and conferences—all these are most interesting and satisfying to one wholly consecrated to the great movement.

Every so often the question bobs up as to why the Socialists refer to themselves as Social-Democrats, and this

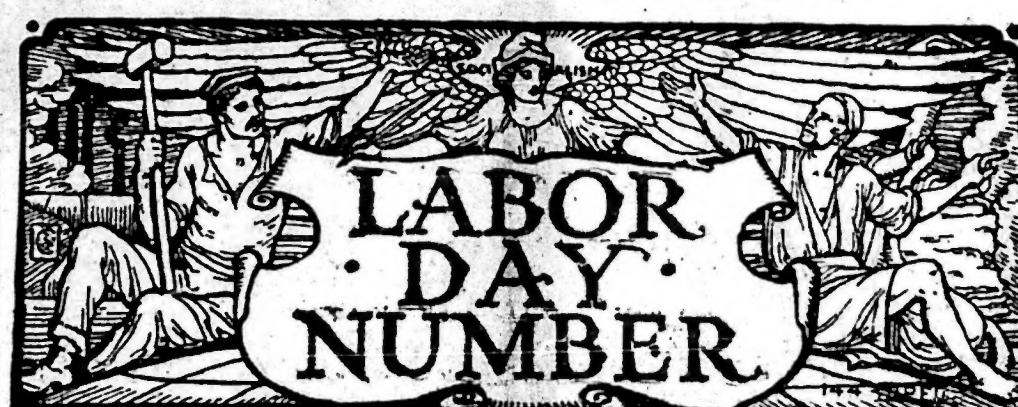
(Written for The Herald.)
NOT this is Labor's Day—
For still the ploughmen hunger,
And homeless are the builders,
And still must weave the weavers,
Their only wage—the shrouds!
And you who shower blessings
Must sit apart and weep;
While you who give the freedom
Are galley-slaves enshamed!

But hearken to the message

LABOR DAY

Now rise! Assert your manhood!
In you alone lies strength,
But twist your wrists in earnest,
And lo! the shackles fall,
But stamp your feet in union,
And all the world shall bend!

And from the tumult of the hour
A newer earth shall rise!



That bids you rise and act!
This day is not for freemen
Their majesty proclaiming!
For angered bondmen this
To break the yoke of ages,
For slaves awakened, startled
By the whip's incessant lashing!

The sun has reached his zenith
And points in burning colors
What black injustices
The ages bore for you.
No longer stand and look,
No longer wait their justice—
The lords forever are your foes!

The past like smoke shall vanish
With lords, and kings, and slaves—
The centuries of crime
Shall perish in the storm,
And Truth shall judge the day!
Each man a king, each king a brother,
Sweet Liberty our God!

Then Labor, proud and happy,
No more the namesake of a day,
Shall all the year possess—
No longer robbed, no longer scourged,
The lord of all the world!

Penn. —PAUL ELDREDGE.

week the inquiry comes again. The reason is simple and important. The reason originated years ago when the head center of the propaganda was in Germany. There, as in other countries since, a sort of state Socialism was developed by the opponents of our movement through their governments,

national and local, as a means of heading off real Socialism. So the Socialists chose the name Social-Democracy, that is, Socialists who believe in democratic Socialism as opposed to or distinguished from state Socialism. The word "democracy," derived from the Greek, is frequently translated

"rule of the people," says Liebknecht, one of the great founders of our world-sweeping movement, and "social" signifies association, that is referring to society. Social-Democracy means the rule of the people in the province of the social relations of men as well as in that of politics, the just,

and that adds that such a comrade should also take with him a bundle of samples of the Carr paper. It

passes my understanding how any one except Carr himself would urge any one to pass around a paper at this time as a sample of Socialism.

Carr is filled with stand-offish

smelling charges and reckless attacks

on reputable Socialists who have stuck through six games of revenge—a paper filled up with stuff not fit to put before any decent mind.

It is disgusting that the machinations of the Kerr-Carr combine has also forced various party papers to print matter on the same subject, but I am sure none of the editors has enjoyed displacing regular propaganda matter to make way for it. Carr, by the way, attempts to deny that impossibility and direct action is back of the attack begun by him, but it is noted that in the current issue of his police-garment, Alice Marguerite Preve, has written after Carr's heart and Marguerite Preve is at this very time under charges, along with

wise, dignifying arrangement of state and society.

How everything tends to the Socialistic direction! The decision of the secretary of the interior by which coal fields can be withdrawn from the public domain and made the property of adjacent municipalities is only a first step that points that way. If a city can own coal fields, why not many other things? And once the people get municipal coal, even of the bituminous variety, they will demand publicly owned anthracite coal, and they ought to. The prediction is easily made that only a few years hence will see the hard coal deposits taken out of the hands of the racists who grow fat on our misery each winter and restored to the people. And one such gulf will precipitate others. The landslide toward our ideas is already getting momentum. If you look closely you can see that no matter how invincible it looks there is a creeping advance, that means increasing motion and then the vast landslide. And, by the way, do not overlook that the decision of the secretary of the interior was in response to a demand for adjacent coal fields by the municipality of Grand Junction, Colorado. Grand Junction has a Socialist state.

It was the subject of general comment at the capitol today that the titular leader of the senate should be at odds with his cohorts. Penrose, as chairman of the powerful finance committee, assumed the leadership of Republicans in the senate when Aldrich retired. It was remarked today that the questioning which brought forth sensational revelations as to the big interests share in the financing of the Republican party in 1904, as developed at the polls in November, "regular" leaders today strove to "call off" the senior senator from the Keystone state.

One of the most laughable of Pete Collins' 25 reasons why a union man "cannot be a Socialist" is because "Socialism declares that the elimination of the trade union is necessary to make the success of Socialism possible." Piffle! If this were true, so many of the unions would not have been formed by Socialists. Socialists set up rival unions, he says. No respectable Socialist does anything of the sort. Socialism is no more responsible for the work of certain stupid or scheming men than the trade union movement. Unions were the first to set up dual unions. That Socialists consider unions in their way is the height of the ridiculous. We believe in instead on labor solidarity and labor organization. The labor movement of Germany, the home of Social-Democracy, is practically composed of Socialists. There is a dual union movement over there, but it is the result of clerical scheming to divide workingmen on the trade union field by means of religion. It is Mr. Collins' own church which is back of the foxy Militia of Christ stunt that has produced the dual unionism in Germany. And yet Pete has the cheek to charge the Socialists with trying to divide trade unionism and lessen its efficiency.

One of the few Christian Socialists of prominence who still sticks to the scheming Rev. E. E. Carr is our comrade, W. H. Watts, who in the current number of the Carr sewer sheet gives a list of good Socialistic books that a comrade out of work could easily sell and that adds that such a comrade should also take with him a bundle of samples of the Carr paper. It

passes my understanding how any one except Carr himself would urge any one to pass around a paper at this time as a sample of Socialism.

Committee grills Archbold for two hours, making him repeat story three times.

Archbold says Roosevelt "outraged our persecuted oil trust." Rogers, Archbold and Penrose had a round table conference after he had insisted that Roosevelt should be informed.

Roosevelt issues statement charging Senator Penrose with falsehoods and knowing falsehood.

Penrose asks senate committee to examine William Rockefeller.

Archbold says he has original telegram from William Flynn of Pittsburgh, asking aid in contest for senatorship.

Committee grills Archbold for two hours, making him repeat story three times.

Archbold says Roosevelt "outraged our persecuted oil trust." Rogers, Archbold and Penrose had a round table conference after he had insisted that Roosevelt should be informed.

Roosevelt charges that Penrose, Archbold and reactionary Democrats are in league to assail him, saying he is the only man and his party the only party that threatens to exterminate corruption in politics.

the others of the Ohio state committee of retiring executives serving for the state movement because they preach social action instead of the sabotage variety. I can see a reorganization of the Christian Fellowship coming. The best heads in the Fellowship have withdrawn their contributions from the Carr paper, and do not stand for his disruptive methods. It has probably dawned upon some of them that pique over not being able to boost himself into the national executive by means of the Fellowship is what started Carr on his long campaign of vengeance action toward the organization. His case is a good deal like Tommy Morgan's.

Answering the Slander

That the Unions Accomplish Nothing

WASHINGTON, D. C.—It is well occasionally to ask the question in an honest and inquiring manner: "What are the labor organizations of America doing?" It is well therefore that a bird's-eye view should be taken of the real actual progress being made throughout the country by the organizations of labor through their local efforts and by means of their local organizations.

The following items are gleaned from correspondence and reports which have reached the offices of the American Federation of Labor within the last four weeks.

Argonia, Ark.—Carpenters increased their wages 5 cents per hour without strike.

San Francisco, Calif.—Bakers secured eight-hour day and use of bakers' label through a short strike.

Master Bakers have nearly doubled their wages since the strike.

Plumbers secured increase of 5 cents per hour without strike.

Stockton, Calif.—Cooks and waiters unionized 16 of the very best establishments in the city.

Butchers and bakers have nearly a 100 per cent organization.

Plumbers secured \$1 per week increase after eight days' strike.

Painters obtained 50 cents per day increase without strike.

Macon, Ga.—Plumbers recently obtained an increase in their rate now 50 cents per hour. Carpenters obtained the nine-hour day at \$1.50 without strike.

Carlinville, Ill.—Teamsters increased their wage scale from \$4.50 to \$5 per day.

Kankakee, Ill.—Carpenters and Painters increased wages 5 cents per hour without strike.

Bicknell, Ind.—Printers secured wage of \$2 per week without strike.

Lawrence, Kan.—The eight-hour day has been secured in most trades without reduction in the wage scale.

E. Millisocket, Me.—Union shop agreements, with a wage increase of

(Continued to 2d page.)

The Boy, the Man, the Trade Unionist, the Workers' Emancipator

(ALLAN L. BENSON, in Pearson's)

Some man cannot think of Debs without thinking of the devil. Other men cannot think of the devil without thinking of Debs. No man was ever more lied about. The persons who make public opinion in this country do not want him understood. If Debs were understood, they might be understood, too.

Debs is long and has been the implacable foe of the class that makes public opinion in this country. That class is the capitalist class. It controls all of the news media, it controls almost all of the magazines. It controls many of the churches. It has had the power to stifle truth and spread falsehood, it has stifled truth and spread falsehood.

Some day, everyone will know Debs. I know him. The time may not come until after he is dead. But the time will come.

The blood of the French runs through the veins of Eugene Victor Debs. He was born in Terre Haute, Indiana, November 5, 1855, of Jean Daniel Debs and Margaret Marie Bertelet, who came to America from France in 1848.

Debs' childhood did not last long. He had not finished high school when, at the age of 18, poverty knocked at

LIFE STORY OF EUGENE V. DEBS

<p

Why People Are Poor in Spite of Their Hard Work--Morris Hillquit

Socialism is distinctly a modern movement. Contrary to prevailing notions, it has no connection, historical or intellectual, with the utopias of Plato or Moore, or with the practices of the communistic sects of former ages.

The Socialist movement was called into life by economic conditions which have sprung up within very recent periods. Its program is an attempted solution of the problems inherent in these conditions.

The cardinal plank of the Socialist platform is the collective ownership of the principal sources and instruments of wealth production, and there is no physical basis and no rational justification for such a program before about the beginning of the nineteenth century.

An illustration let us take the economic condition of the United States in the early days of the republic. The main industry of the country was agriculture, and land was plentiful and accessible to all. The mechanical arts and crafts were practised on small scale, and on the basis of individual effort and use. Such tools as there were, were in the main hand tools, simple and inexpensive. The old time mechanic could readily acquire them and ply his trade in his home or small workshop. It was not capital, but skill and knowledge that the worker required. The apprentice or helper was not in a position of permanent dependence upon his employer. He was a pupil learning the trade from the "master,"

and as soon as he was equipped for the task, he could set up in business as an independent producer. His tool was his own, his skill was his own, and the finished product was his own in the equitable as well as in the legal sense of the term. He relied on his individual efforts for his living. He had the means for earning his living always ready at hand. It is obvious that under such conditions no advantage could be gained from socializing the tools or from national or collective operation of the industry.

But within the last few generations a silent revolution has taken place in our methods of producing and distributing wealth. The simple tool of the old-time mechanician has gradually evolved into the modern machine of wonderful complexity and gigantic dimensions, propelled by steam or electricity and oftentimes doing the work of hundreds of human hands. The modest workshop of our grandfathers has grown into the immense modern factory under the roof of which hundreds, sometimes thousands, of workers are congregated for joint labor. Mass production, division of labor and specialization of functions have largely superseded individual effort, general efficiency and acquired skill in industry. The impersonal "market" has replaced the specific "customer." Production has become social in character, methods and object.

This economic evolution has brought about a most thorough going change in the social conditions and rela-

tions of the people.

For the first time in history free producers found themselves divorced from the tools of their labor. The modern worker cannot revert to the simple tool of his forefathers. He must have access to the up-to-date plants, machinery and equipment. His entire social usefulness depends on that machinery. Without it he is as without arms—an industrial cripple. But the individual worker cannot own the modern machines, and the workers collectively do not own them. The machines, factories and plants, the land, mines and railroads—in brief, all the modern sources and instruments of wealth-production are owned and controlled by a class of persons other than the workers.

With the loss of their tools the workers have lost their economic independence. They work and they live or they idle and starve according to the convenience of the powerful tool-owners. The reward of their industry is a mere subsistence wage. The fruits of their labor go largely to the possessor of the productive capital as an involuntary tax or license fee.

This modern society is split into two principal economic classes: the users of the machine, the producers, who do not use it; the employers and the workers, who do not use it; the capitalists and the workers, those who derive their income from "profits" and those who depend for their living on "wages." The classes are not fixed by law; but they are determined

just as effectively by economic position, and as the modern industrial system is unfolding, they tend to become permanent and even hereditary. A lucky workman or clerk may still occasionally be lifted into the coveted realms of wealth and power, but the probabilities of such a rise are not much greater than the proverbial chances of each soldier in the Napoleonic army to be advanced to the rank of general. The masses of the workers are condemned to factory work for life, and their children are predestined factory hands. And similarly capitalism is rapidly becoming a hereditary status. The "self-made man," the pioneer of a new industry, is fast passing away. Modern wealth is largely in the hands of second or third generations. The gay heir who squanders his fortune is reduced to the original poverty of his grandfathers because his fortunes of the individual capitalists grow in bulk, and corporate management supersedes individual initiative.

It is not contended that the entire population is definitely divided into the two classes mentioned. There are, of course, the more or less indefinite and undeterminable economic groups generally designated as the "middle class," which are not of social interest. The middle factors in modern industrial life are clearly represented by the two most pronounced types or classes—the capitalists and the wage-earners, the latter comprising all grades of hired manual and mental workers. —Metropolitan.

Campaign Offer

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Life and Deeds of Uncle Sam

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Address, Political Action, Brisbane Hall, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

A Vote Investment That is Worth Thinking About! -- Eugene Wood

It's a big thing for any class to control the government. It is so fine a thing for the interests that it is only good business for them to put up the money for the nomination of suitable candidates and for the purchase of enough votes to put them in office, provided the price is reasonable, somewhere under, say, \$25.

I suppose that if votes went up to \$100 a piece on the average, the interests would probably arrange it with the responsible managers of the Republican and Democratic parties.

At present I suppose that a common ordinary vote would never go up as high as \$100. Members of the legislature who have the privilege of selling the rights and franchises of the public to the interests can do much better, and I am speaking of workingmen who are poor and mean to be poor.

But, even so, call it \$100 for the sake of argument.

Now we are always hearing talk about the improvement and short-sightedness of the working classes.

They don't look ahead. If they happen to have a small sum of money over and above their needs they are not happy until they spend it, fritter it away, and have nothing to show for it. They haven't gumption enough to put it by, to invest it at interest. Many a nickel makes a mickle in the course of time.

Supposing, then, that a man's vote is worth \$100. Since he is willing to throw it away by giving it to the interests, we may say that he could just as well as not save the money that he'd get for it if he could sell it for \$100. Put that annual amount by for twenty years at interest, and it would come to something like \$3,000. Widens would be a tidy little sum. He could start up a shop with that—and lose it inside of six months. It would be pretty certain to be skinned off him by some shrewd person, and so on. If the cost of living goes on increasing, in twenty years \$3,000 would look like \$600 in purchasing power.

But supposing he invests his vote with the Socialist party? The boneheads who spend everything as fast as they get it will probably laugh at him; they may even, in their twisted way of looking at things, consider that it

is HE, and not they, who is throwing his vote away. Never mind them.

Anybody with any head for figures at all can see that it won't take twenty years for the Socialist vote to gain control of the government; nothing like twenty years at the rate it is growing now. But call it that for the sake of argument. When it pays out it will amount to this: That there will be steady work all the year round, with no deductions for rent, profits and interest, which will be about \$3,000 a year for every laborer, old and dead begets, and an old age pension; that there will be no adulterated goods, but everything made for us and not to see how rotten it is; that there will be no hired and still sell; that the cost of living instead of going up all the time will be coming down all the time, since the natural tendency is continually to invent new and improved methods of production, so that with less and less labor—a better and better living can be made.

Instead, then, of one little meandy dab of \$3,000 to be hung fast to or hove robed away from you, there will be at the least calculation \$3,000 a year as the result of investing, not the proceeds of your vote in a bank, but the

vote itself with the Socialist party, which is the trustee of the interests of the working classes.

How foolish then to sell your vote for \$20 or \$2, or more idiotic still, to give it away!

This is no appeal to your manhood, to your nobler nature, to your patriotism, to your yearning to be free, to your hunger for righteousness, for justice, to any spirit that is fine about you. It is right in the spirit of this present, penny-pinching, sordid business age. You and I are practical men. Mr. Harriman, we're out for the dough. Here's a fine chance for investment on which you are sure to win out big. You know that. You know that if every workingman in the country went into the enterprise it would win out bigger than anybody has yet dared to think. All you're afraid of is that other people won't go into it. But you're nothing to lose. You're throwing your vote away every year instead of investing it. Don't you mind what other people do or don't do. If you think it looks good, why invest. And very probably you'll find that other people have as much sense as you, and will come into the fold too.

A world to gain and nothing to lose! Think it over.

How the People Will Buy Trusts and Become Free--Allan L. Benson

Gentlemen who are opposed to Socialism—for what reasons it is now unnecessary to consider—lose no opportunity to spread the belief that there are more kinds of Socialism than there are varieties of the celebrated products of Mr. H. L. Hillquit. This is not so. There are more than 30,000 Socialists in the world. Not one of them would refuse to write across this article: "That is Socialism," and sign his name to it. Every Socialist has his individual conception of how man should advance if poverty were eliminated, but all Socialists agree that the best and surest of their philosophy lies in the public ownership under democratic government, of the means of life. And, as compared with this belief, all other beliefs of Socialism are minor and inconsequential. Private ownership is the rock upon which it is determined to stand or fall.

Socialists differ only with regard to the means by which public ownership may be brought about. A handful of Socialists, for instance, believe that in order to bring it about it is necessary to oppose the labor unions. All other Socialists work hand in hand with the labor unions.

Also, there is a difference of opinion among Social-

ists as to how the government should proceed to obtain ownership of the industrial trusts, the railroads, telegraph, telephone and express companies and so forth. Some Socialists are in favor of confiscating them, on the theory that these vast aggregations of capital constitute but the accumulated sums of which labor has been unjustly deprived. In a few cases the excellent authority for their position is Read, while Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Jefferson at the convention that was called in 1776 to adopt a new constitution for Pennsylvania:

"Suppose one of our Indian nations should now agree to form a civil society. Each individual would bring into the stock of the society little more property than his gun and his blanket; for at present he has no other. We know that when one of them has attempted to keep a few swine he has not been able to maintain a property in them, his neighbors thinking they have a right to kill and eat them whenever they want provision, it being one of their maxims that hunting is free for all. The accumulation of property in such a society, and its security to individuals in every society, must be an effect of the protection afforded to it by the joint strength of the society in the execution of its laws."

"Private property is, therefore, a creature of society, and to subject to the calls of that society whenever its necessities require it, even to the last farthing."

But one need quote only the law of self-preservation to prove that if any people shall ever become convinced that their lives depend upon the confiscation of the trusts that such confiscation will be justified. When men reach a certain stage of hunger and wretchedness they pay scant attention to every law, except the higher law that says they have a right to live.

Today you know I believe that most Socialists were in favor of confiscation. Not that Socialists have changed their minds at all about the equities of the matter. They have not. But they are coming to see that compensation is the easier and quicker way. Victor Berger, the Socialist congressman from Milwaukee, introduced, at the present session of congress, an anti-trust bill in which he proposed that the government should buy all of the trusts that control more than 40 per cent of the business in their respective lines, and pay therefor their full cash values—minus, of course, wind, water and all forms of speculative inflation. In short the differences in the Socialist party upon the question of compensation are not unlike the differences with regard to the best means in which the negroes might be emancipated. Years before the civil war, Harry Clay proposed that the government should buy the negroes, at double their market price, and set them free. He believed this would be the cheapest and quickest way of settling the troubles between the north and the south. The slave owners would not consent, and, eventually Lincoln freed their slaves without payment.

When Socialists speak of buying the trusts, they naturally invite the inquiry as to where they expect to get the money to pay for them. They expect to get the money out of the profits of the trusts. That is the way that Representative Berger provides in his bill. It is a poor trust that does not pay dividends upon stock and interest upon bonds that do not aggregate at least 10 per cent of the capital actually invested. Most of them pay more, and some of the express companies occasionally spring a 50 or a 100 per cent dividend.

The Socialist proposal is that the government pay the trusts with 2 per cent bonds, and that each year, enough money be put into a sinking fund to retire the bonds in no more than 50 years. The burden of purchasing the trusts would be spread over a little more than two generations, but Socialists say the burden would be a burden only in name, since the prices of trust goods could be radically reduced, even while the trusts were being paid for, and upon the retirement of the bonds, all prices could be reduced to cost.—Pearson's.

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Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Company Book Department BRISBANE HALL MILWAUKEE - WISCONSIN

Control of the Political Power the Key to the Situation--Emil Seidel

As the candidate for vice president on the ticket that stands for the EMANCIPATION OF THE WORKING CLASS, my one ambition shall be not to permit any deed or word of mine, either in public or private life, to impede in any way the success of the great historic mission of our class.

I accepted this honor as a recognition of that constructive policy which has been voiced in the declaration of the 1910 Socialist congress and the national convention of the Socialist party. This is the policy that has guided the comrades of Milwaukee and Wisconsin since the renaissance of our movement. I recognize that such successes as our comrades over all the world have achieved are entirely due to a religious adherence to that CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY.

It must be admitted that in choosing a CONSTRUCTIVE POLICY the doors to never-ceasing patience and perseverance, to arduous study of perplexing problems and to diligent and faithful labors have been thrown wide open to the comrade.

Only to that degree that the workers by their own intelligence will be able to apply the problems of each day to the principles of the Socialist philosophy, only in that proportion is it possible to bring about the emancipation of the working class.

With that great goal before us we must continually study, agitate, fight, work, until we have driven the dragon of exploitation from his very last entrenchments. Thus the curse of work, which for ages has borne down upon us will become the means of our salvation.

The workers have suffered so long and endured so much that they have almost lost heart. So true is this that without wise counsel these in danger of being

misled by irresponsible and ignorant sycophants into the commission of desperate deeds and fatal blunders. This would only tend to submerge their class in deeper misery and deliver them helpless into the hands of their enemies.

In their daily calling the workers are ever busy with producing the material things of life. To them life consists of things that can be perceived and that can be measured. Therefore, their entire training is materialistic.

Our platform shows the workers how they can grasp the problems of the day and then grapple with them in a physical contest. That message comes to them like a shaft of light through the gloom of long hours of toll and suffering. That the demands as voiced in the platform find their tap-root in the daily needs of the working class, is proved by the cheering response with which they are received.

In my travels, as I meet the workers coming from every field of human endeavor, I cannot fail to note the new spirit that has taken possession of them. A new hope is reflected in their faces; a firm determination to shake free from their eyes.

On the other hand, the enemy has not overlooked this change in the attitude of the workers. The platform of both the political wings of the master class promises remedies that are designed once more to deceive the working class.

These promises, meaningless as they are to the workers themselves, yet cannot fail to impress us as being a recognition of the soundness of the demands of our own convention. Nor did we fear that the enemy can harm our cause by stealing our thunder, for he does not know how to use it after he has stolen it.

The time has passed in which the workers can be appealed to by mere promises. Neither will they beg for relief. They are preparing to take possession of the powers in behalf of a class; they have been taught through

bitter object lessons how to legislate in behalf of one class as against another class. They have learned that courts and judges can be used to good advantage by and for those that control them, and they are now learning to heed these lessons.

Having won the battle for possession of all the power of state the working class will not be slow to use this power for its own benefit just as formerly its master has used this same power against it. The workers will through their government legislate, administer and define laws for their own benefit, just as they have seen their masters do. This is the meaning of our convention and our platform to the workers.

Since the worker is prepared to do his own governmenting, any attempt to dislodge him from so doing is worse than folly. IT IS TREASON TO HIM AND HIS CLASS. Nor can the belief that government is powerless stand as an excuse for such treason.

For centuries this political power has served well those who have controlled it. By means of this power, exploitation has been legalized, property rights have been placed over the rights of man, privilege has become a vested right. The corporation created by the state cannot be jailed, while man can.

The master class well understands the benefits that accrue to it through control of this political power. Therefore, it prizes it highly. Therefore, also, it will not voluntarily yield to the working class its possession.

Yet, just at a time when, as never before, the workers are ready to control this power, we behold voices that warn the workers against its conquest. Can these voices be sane? If so, can they be sincere?

I can never consent to advise the workers to go into the street and, bared of all means of defense, meet their masters who are entrenched behind rapid-fire rifles and machine guns.

With all the powers of a state in the hands of the workers; with the legislature, the executives, the courts, the militia and police in their control, the tables are turned. No blood will be shed, for without those powers the master class cannot fight.

This should be understood by every decent mind, for it is so plain and obvious. This is what I hold to be the meaning of our platform. In this, our campaign, it is necessary that we stand as a unit. Against the cause of the emancipation of the working class all other issues are as nothing. Our each little hobby, our faults, our peculiarities, our sins, big or small, not one or all of these is so important as to deserve precedence over that big issue.

He or she who joined our party

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BOOK DEPARTMENT

BRISBANE HALL MILWAUKEE WIS.

SOCIALISM IS COMING NOW

BY WINFIELD R. GAYLORD

The title of this little volume may prove to be a deterrent with some people, since it may hint some of established pessimism. However, after one has overcome any possible aversion against a title so promising, one must admit that every class-conscious workingman ought to buy this little pamphlet of Comrade Gaylord and hand it to a non-partisan friend. It fact, it is every workingman's business to read what share he has in preparing the way for generations of workingmen to come. And a part is being played by every worker in this struggle, no matter whether he be capitalist or not. This is a point which Gaylord makes very plain in his address.

No matter how many doubts the title may raise, Comrade Gaylord must have convinced his hearers in St. Louis, when he made his speech, and it is well that he has it now in pamphlet form. Socialist pamphlets are largely drawn from the press of the day, are most desirable. The local and Socialist leaders should not wait, but they ought to get busy now and make use of Gaylord's pamphlet.

It is good propaganda stuff, too good to be overlooked, and to be had at 10 cents a copy, 75 cents a dozen; \$5 per hundred.

Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co. BOOK DEPARTMENT, Brisbane Hall Milwaukee, Wis.

Put Your Finger On This

Knowledge of its past, of its history, is to a nation the same as to the individual—a memory. Insanity of any kind is lack of memory. The better the memory of a man, the bigger his mind. This law applies also to any nation as well. A perverted memory, faded history makes an entire nation insane. Get the truth, so your memory works properly and you will understand present conditions. We published three pamphlets to make everybody's memory work right. They are:

U. S. Constitution and Socialism, Siles-Hood; Menace of Socialism, Father Gasson and Cary; Socialism, What It Is and How To Get It, Ameringer. 10 cents a copy; 3 for 25 cents; 1 doz. 75 cents, all of one title or asserted. 100 copies \$2.00, express prepaid.

Milwaukee Social-Democratic Publishing Co., Book Department, Brisbane Hall Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Socialism—Socialism is merely the new form in which the social discontent that has troubled all ages, now expresses itself—Catholic Citizen.

The People Get What They Vote For!

By JOHN M. WORK.

The capitalist grab at every cent in sight.

They get men and women in work for them at the lowest possible wages, without regard to their comfort and welfare and the comfort and welfare of those dependent upon them.

They frequently compel their employees to work in vile and unhealthy quarters, where their lives are threatened by disease.

They employ children and press them through the same process of dehumanization.

They build hovels and tenement houses in the most undesirable places and rent them to the workers at exorbitant rates. They take care not to have these hovels and tenements too close to their own mansions on the broad and beautiful avenues. They do not want to degrade themselves by too close proximity to people who earn an honest living.

They contribute to the campaign funds of all political parties that will accept their bribes—and that means all except the Socialist party.

They influence legislators with money, flattery, intimidation, or perquisites, and get passed such laws as are in their interest, and rejected such as are not.

They treat poor men as inferiors and regard themselves as the lords of creation.

They bring extraneous influences to bear upon the courts, besides hiring the shrewdest lawyers in the land. And they rarely fail to get the decisions they want.

They unconsciously indulge in extravagant luxury and vain ostentation, while men and women and children with human hearts and souls and feelings, while millions of others live on the ragged edge of poverty, destitute of all the refining and ennobling influences of life.

They have the power to do them because they own the exploiting industries which the workers have to use in order to live.

The remedy is the collective ownership and operation of the exploiting industries.

And that is Socialism.

However, we cannot blame the capitalists for the present frightful conditions.

They monopolize the good things because we permit them to do so.

Private ownership of the exploiting industries enables them to have and to hold possession of the capital of the country and to wrest from the toilers most of the value of their labor.

Whenever we see fit to abolish the private ownership of the exploiting industries, this exploitation will cease. We will get the full value of our labor. We will guarantee ourselves an opportunity to earn a living. Involuntary poverty will be a thing of the past.

We have only ourselves to blame.

If we live in a country where the workingman had no vote, it might be otherwise.

But in this country the average workingman has a vote the same as a capitalist. The workingman can therefore bring exploitation, poverty and economic uncertainty to an end whenever they wish.

They can do it by voting for the collective ownership of the exploiting industries—by voting the Socialist ticket.

If you want to secure these results join the Socialist party and vote the Socialist ticket.

If you do not vote the Socialist ticket, quit growling because you are deprived of everything worth while.

You are getting what you voted for.

They do all these things because they have the power to.

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Every Saturday



SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC HERALD

Published by the

MILWAUKEE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC PUBLISHING COMPANY

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of its Contributors

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FOR PRESIDENT
Eugene V. Debs
OF INDIANA
FOR VICE-PRESIDENT
Emil Seidel
OF WISCONSIN

Report of National Executive Committee
Referendum C

Hillquit as chairman of the subcommittee appointed to draft a statement of the position of the National Executive Committee, read the following report:

"To the Members of the Socialist Party."

"Comrades: On June 14th a communication was received in the National Office purporting to come from Local Branch, Texas, calling for the removal of J. Mahlon Barnes as campaign manager and accompanied by a violent and denunciatory statement."

"Within a few weeks thereafter a second communication was received, coming to a large extent from the state of Texas, and the motion was submitted to the members of the party under the title 'Referendum C.'

"While the vote was in progress certain indications developed which tended to cast grave doubts on the origin and good faith of the referendum. The National Executive Committee immediately ordered a rigid investigation of the facts connected with the Branch motion, and entrusted Comrade Charles Edward Russell with such investigation. The vote on Referendum C was suspended in the meantime."

"The National Executive Committee is charged by the party constitution with the duty of conducting a national vote on the referendum. It is responsible to the members of the party for the genuineness of the motions submitted for referendum, and the committee had neither the right nor the power to permit the members to continue voting upon a motion of a local whose very existence was seriously called in question."

"Our committee has since heard the report of Comrade Charles Edward Russell on the subject and has carefully examined all facts and documents in the case. Based upon such report and facts, we find as follows: 'It is very doubtful whether there was such a thing as Local Branch, Texas, in the month of June, 1912.'

"Local Branch is alleged to consist of five members, a certain Philip Warburton, his two sons, Till and Arthur, and two neighboring farmers. According to the stamp on the membership books of the Warburtons, they paid dues from August, 1911, to December, 1911, and then again resumed paying dues in August, 1912, according to their books, two months after the alleged motion was initiated. It is claimed that 'Local Branch' has paid dues during the period not covered by due stamps, but this is contradicted by the membership books as well as by the written statement originally made by Philip Warburton to Comrade Louis Engdahl.

"The alleged motion for the recall of Barnes was never presented to a meeting of 'Local Branch,' nor did that local ever pass upon it."

"This is admitted by Till Warburton, the alleged secretary of 'Local Branch,' and his father, Philip."

"The motion and comment were drafted by E. R. Meltzen, former secretary of the State Committee of Texas, and the name 'T. Warburton' was signed by Meltzen."

"This is admitted by both Meltzen and Till Warburton."

"No member of the so-called

Ben Hanford's Great Classic

A comrade who shall be called Jimmie Higgins because that is not his name, and who shall be styled a painter for the very good reason that he is not a painter, has perhaps had a greater influence in keeping me keyed up to my work in the labor movement than any other person.

Jimmie Higgins is neither broad-shouldered nor thick-chested. He is neither pretty nor strong. A little, thin, weak, pale-faced chap. A poor dyspeptic, asthmatic, epileptic. But he is strong enough to support a mother with equal physical disabilities. Strong enough to put in 16 years of unrecognized and unexcelled service to the cause of Socialism.

What did he do? Everything. He has made more Socialist speeches than any man in America. Not that he did the talking; but he carried the platform, his best shouldered when the platform committee failed to be on hand.

Then he hustled around to another branch and got their platform out. Then he got a glass of water for "the speaker." That same evening or the day before he had distributed handbills advertising the meeting.

Previously he had informed his branch as to "the best corner" in the district for drawing a crowd. Then he distributed leaflets at the meeting, and helped to take the platform down and carry it back to headquarters, and got subscriptions for Socialist papers.

The next day, the same, and so on all through the campaign, and one campaign after another. When he had a job, which was none too often, for Jimmie was not an extra good workman and was always one of the first to be laid off, he would distribute Socialist papers among his fellows during the noon hour or take a run

down to the gate of some factory and give out Socialist leaflets to the employees who come out to lunch.

What did he do? Jimmie Higgins did not say "anything." Whatever he did say, it was Jimmie's job.

First to do his own work, then the work of those who had become wearied or negligent. Jimmie Higgins couldn't sing, nor dance, nor tell a story—but he could do the thing to be done.

Be you, reader, ever so great, you nor any other shall ever do more than that. Jimmie Higgins had no riches, but out of his poverty he always gave something to his all; be you, reader, ever so wealthy and likewise generous, you shall never give more than that.

Jimmie Higgins never had a front seat on the platform; he never knew the tonic of applause nor the inspiration of opposition. He never was seen in the foreground of the picture.

But he had erected a platform and painted the picture; through his hard, disagreeable and thankless toil it had come to pass that Jimmie was brewing and things were doing.

"Jimmie Higgins! How shall we pay, how reward this man? What good, what laurels shall he be?"

There's just one way, reader, that you and I can "make good" with Jimmie Higgins and the likes of him. That way is to be like him.

Take a fresh start and never let go. Think big, dream big, work hard, do so little to do with it. How little ours in proportion to our strength.

I know some grand men and women in the Socialist movement. But in high self-sacrifice, in matchless fidelity to truth, I shall never meet a greater man than Jimmie Higgins.

And many a branch has one or two.

And may they have more of him.

BABY ASTOR'S FORTUNE COVERS
SEVENTY-ONE MILES OF DOLLARS

The building of a special playhouse to contain it, but that is a small matter when one is an Astor.

Or the youngster might build a single rail track with "tents" laying the dollars end to end, he would have to crawl 71 miles to look at all of them.

Build into a cube, the dollars would make a block of seven and one-fourth feet. When he tired of eight of those shoddy discs he might be amused by the process of 23 days that would be needed to turn them off to a bank.

Why Living Costs More and More!



Capitalism Gorges the Few and Leaves the Many in Want

Salaried Workingmen Crowded by High Cost of Living

"Local Branch" had knowledge of the motion at the time when it is alleged to have been made.

Till Warburton, whose name is signed to it, discovered the fact by reading about it in the Christians Socialist, and immediately wrote to the National Office, emphatically denying that Local Branch had made such motion and blasting at foul play.

"Subsequently, and after an admitted conference with E. R. Meltzen, Till Warburton attempted to put a different construction on his letter, but that construction is anything but convincing in view of the contradictory statements contained in the first letter of Till Warburton and in the related signed statements of his father, Philip Warburton.

"The motion for the recall of Comrade Barnes was as a matter of fact not initiated by 'Local Branch, Texas,' or by any local of the Socialist party.

"It was set afloat as part of a private scheme of Comrades E. R. Meltzen, E. A. Green and W. S. Noble, who worded it, signed it and sent it to the National Office, and followed it up by issuing a circular letter to all locals of the state of Texas over their own signatures, soliciting seconds for the so-called motion of 'Local Branch.'

"The National Executive Committee brands the proceeding as a fraud and imposition upon the Socialist party, and denounces the methods employed in securing Referendum C as dishonest trickery, not to be tolerated within the Socialist movement."

"The committee, however, resolves that the vote on Referendum C concerns the members of the party given an extension of fourteen days for the return of the votes, in view of the fact that other motions similar to that of Referendum C have been made and seconded by the requisite number of locals, that Comrade Barnes specifically requests that the present referendum be continued, and that to institute a new referendum at this time might still further interfere with the campaign work of the party."

St. Gregory the Great: "It is no great thing not to rob others of their belongings, and to do this they themselves have committed another sin which God gave in common: it is not giving to others that which they themselves received, they became homicides and murderers, inasmuch as in keeping for themselves those things which would have alleviated the sufferings of the poor, we may say that they every day cause the death of as many persons as they might have fed and did not. When therefore we offer the means of living to the indigent, we do not give them anything of ours, but that which of right belongs to them. It is less a work of mercy than we perform than the paying of a debt."—St. Gregory the Great, *Opera Parca*, 1665, Regimen Pastoral, Chap. XXII, p. 3.

* * * * *

WHO ARE THE WORKERS?

The great Liebknecht, one of the founders of the International Social-Democratic movement, said: "Mark well, under working people we do not understand merely the hand workers, but every one who does not live on the labor of another. Besides the city and country laborers there must be included also the small farmers and traders who grow under the burden of capital, even as the laborers proper. Yet in many cases yet more. There are thousands of thousands of small masters who are obliged on Saturday to run about for hours in order to borrow the week's pay for their workers, and who are happy if their profit is equal to the wages of a factory laborer."

* * * * *

THE NEEDS OF A UNION.

Average Income of American Salaried Men.....\$500

Average Expenses of American Salaried Men.....\$800

* * * * *

Workers are directly affected by the increased cost of living, and extending to everybody except the rich, the man whose pains is most justified by the facts is the salaried man. With rising prices and increased cost of living, wages have increased, though not in proportion to the increased cost; but the tendency for salaries to increase is much less marked. Salaries in general have increased very little in the last 10 years, and during that time the general cost of living has increased 50 per cent.

A good instance of the situation of the large mass of salaried workers or clerks is that given in statistics for 1907 affecting the vast army of employees on the steam railroads of the United States. Of the 1,672,674 employees about five per cent received salaries, and about 35 per cent received wages. The great bulk of the salaried employees, the 65,700 general office clerks, received an average wage of \$2.18 a day in 1897, and an average wage of \$2.20 a day in 1907. In the same time, their cost of living increased from 25 to 30 per cent.

One-sixth to one-tenth of all wage-earners may be said to be salaried. There is no absolute line to be drawn between the wage worker and the salaried worker. The difference is social.

The social demand on the clerk is greater than that on the wage worker.

He must conform to standards of dress, to the higher education of his children. His ideals are as a whole those of his employer. His general standards of life are economically high and the pressure exerted on him by rising prices is consequently severe.

The higher in the social scale the salaried worker stands the more he feels the economic strain. His social standard of living is increasingly out of proportion to his salary. The condition of teachers, for instance, is deplorable. The efficiency of all brain

workers is directly affected for evil by mental strain or worry. The clergyman, to be most useful, ought to be in a position where he can concentrate his thought upon ethical truths rather than the mere needs of his congregation. But the great majority of the ministers of the country are afflicted sorely by the worry of daily bread. Few indeed can bear any good cause—they have hard enough work to help themselves. They must maintain their high positions and do their best for their children's education.

Take the college professor. Statistics in regard to salaries of teachers in the 100 best paying universities in America show that the teacher who has taken a postgraduate course and prepared himself thoroughly to teach at the age of 28 to receive a salary of \$1,250 a year, at 31 a salary of \$1,750, at 33 a salary of \$2,250, and at 35, the age when a successful teacher becomes a professor, a salary of \$2,500 a year. This is the average salary of the teacher which reaches the top. And when one takes into consideration the social demand on the professor, his standard of life and of comfort, what he and his family have learned to need, there is no one who is economically worse off, except the extreme proletarian—the day laborer with a large family. And those are the average salaries of the men who reach the top. The average salaries of the great majority of college teachers are very much lower. There are, for instance, a few institutions which pay annual salaries of \$200 to \$300, to

full professors; and there are 31 institutions which pay to full professors salaries of from \$400 to \$550. At the extreme top is one institution—and one only—that pays an average salary to full professors of \$5,000 a year.

Where is the peace of mind whereby all teachers may really teach?

Not long ago a bank clerk committed suicide. He had two children in college, and his salary was \$1,600 a year. Deficiencies are no more incomprehensible than suicides. The president of one of the largest banks in New York city told me that he thought bank clerks, and clerks in the post office, were the class of people who suffered the most. There are bank clerks worthy of trust, next to a bank is a matter of the greatest importance, whose salaries are less than the wages of good mechanics; and the social requirements of their position make the cost of living much higher than in the case of the mechanics. The bank president remarked that these trusted clerks could not be replaced—not for years—and that through organization they could enormously increase their salaries. But they do not organize.

A charity worker who for years has known many employees in grocery stores reports that the children of these people are now going to work, while their brothers and sisters, just ahead of them in age, did not. In other words, the increased cost of living has forced a large number of salaried parents to sacrifice their children's education, an education they were able to pay for a few years ago, but cannot now.

The moral of it all is that the salaried people must get together, gradually at first, here and there, in groups and fight, fight together, politically and economically. No matter how "good" and intelligent your employers may be, you cannot get what

(SEE PAGE 3.)

OUR YOUNG FOLKS

what are you going to have for supper?"—R. A. Dague.

A Chicago politician tells of three colored men who were also diplomats. He said: "Once I told three negroes that I'd give a big turkey to the one who'd give the best reason for being a Republican."

The first one said: "Use a 'publican kase de gib neggers free.'

"Very good," said R. A. Dague. "Now, Bill, let me hear from you."

"Well, Use a 'publican kase de gone gib us a protective tariff.'

"Fine!" exclaimed R. A. Dague. "Now, Sam, what have you to say?"

"Boss," said Sam, scratching his head and shifting from one foot to the other, "boss, I use a 'publican kase I wants dat turkey.'

"And he got it," said R. A. Dague.

When I resided in California I knew a Chinese who was a private attendant at a Presbyterian church and Sunday school. One day I noticed that the word said to him was "boss."

"Sam, I notice you go to church and Sunday school every Sunday. Have you been converted and are you a Christian?"

"Yes," said the celestial. "Me go meetin' and Sunday school every time. Me good Christian. Me thow nickel in hal; me sing up loud; me git heap big washin'."—R. A. Dague.

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